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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 22 September 1993, at 4.45 p.m.

President:	Mr. Taylhardat	(Venezuela)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	New Zealand	Mr. McKINNON
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. PEDAUYE
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. HICKS

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93-86587 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.50 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON LIBERIA (S/26422 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Liberia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bull (Liberia) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on Liberia, documents S/26422 and S/26422/Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/26477, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw attention to the following revisions to be made to the draft resolution contained in document S/26477 in its provisional form. In the last preambular paragraph and in operative paragraph 10, the word "general" should be replaced by "legislative"; and in operative paragraph 8, the words "in conjunction" should be replaced by "concomitantly".

The first speaker is the representative of Liberia, on whom I now call.

Mr. BULL (Liberia): The delegation of Liberia warmly congratulates you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month and on the effective manner in which you are carrying out your duties. I should like also to express my delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Madeleine Albright of the United States of America for her leadership and her skilful guidance of the work of the Security Council during the month of August.

My delegation welcomes and deeply appreciates the Secretary-General's comprehensive report (S/26422 and Add.1) of 9 September 1993 on the situation in Liberia, which was submitted pursuant to paragraph 3 of resolution 856 (1993) on the proposed establishment of a United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL). The Secretary-General's report manifests his continuing commitment to the pacific settlement of the Liberian conflict, and also reflects his desire to implement the principles enunciated in his report "An Agenda for Peace".

Since the signing of the Cotonou Agreement on 25 July 1993 by the parties to the Liberian conflict there have been no significant violations of the terms of that Agreement. Most of the political components of the Agreement, including the selection of a five-member transitional Council of State, have been implemented, and Liberians are optimistic that peace is finally at hand.

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

However, the relative absence of conflict in the country must not be mistaken for irreversibility of the peace process. On the contrary, the situation in Liberia is still unsettled. The crucial military components of the Cotonou Agreement, dealing with the encampment, disarmament and demobilization of combatants, have yet to be implemented.

As long as the combatants remain armed, the situation in the country will continue to be unpredictable. That is why my delegation welcomes the Secretary-General's proposal that the disarmament process be undertaken as soon as possible. This would allow the installation of the transitional Government, which according to the Cotonou Agreement is to be seated concomitantly with the commencement of the disarmament process. The deployment of some members of the advance team of UNOMIL pursuant to resolution 856 (1993) has served as an important confidence-building measure. It is therefore most important that the remaining members of UNOMIL be deployed as soon as possible.

The disarmament of the combatants will be greatly enhanced by the deployment of additional troops to augment the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Military Observer Group (ECOMOG). As noted in the Secretary-General's report, the funding for additional troops will depend, inter alia, on voluntary contributions to the Trust Fund by Member States. My delegation would like to echo the request already made by the Secretary-General for Member States to make generous contributions to the Trust Fund. Indeed, such contributions will prove indispensable if the repatriation, the rehabilitation, the demobilization and the electoral process are to be implemented within the time-frame set for the holding of legislative and presidential elections, by March 1994.

The people of Liberia have undergone more than three and a half years of civil strife. Through the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States, and with the support of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations, Liberians are now engaged in a process which will lead to national reconciliation and reconstruction and the establishment of a duly elected Government in the country.

The report of the Secretary-General outlines the support which is required from the international community: contributions to the Trust Fund and the

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

continued provision of humanitarian assistance, which will complement the determined efforts of the Liberian people to achieve a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict.

While we acknowledge that peaceful change in Liberia will ultimately depend on the Liberians themselves, my delegation appeals to the members of the Security Council and the international community to provide the required assistance and support that are so vital if a peaceful resolution of the conflict is to be fully achieved.

In that connection, I should like to seize this opportunity to register my Government's appreciation to those countries which have already responded to the Secretary-General's appeal. My delegation wholeheartedly endorses the Secretary-General's report and the draft resolution now before the Council. By adopting that draft resolution, the Council will be acting in accordance with its mandate under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. Additionally, by endorsing the draft resolution the Council will be taking a bold step in undertaking peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace-monitoring in concert with the subregional organization that initiated the process.

By exerting its best efforts to ensure that UNOMIL is successful, the Council could provide a model for future cooperation between the United Nations and other subregional organizations.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Liberia for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it, as orally revised in its provisional form. Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. OLHAYE (Djibouti): My delegation would again like to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his timely and informative report on the situation in Liberia.

The planning mission dispatched last month to gather information prior to the proposed establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) would seem to have accomplished its mission. On the basis of the results of this initial visit, sufficient data is available to form a basis for the structure of UNOMIL.

This mission establishes an important precedent for the United Nations, that of a peacemaking mission set up after one is already in place through another organization. Consequently, the issues of coordination, command and responsibilities are significant and will require careful monitoring and assessment. The supportive but independent role of the United Nations needs to be safeguarded, particularly where hostilities may resume and peacemaking action is required against one of the parties. We must also be assured that proper measures are in place to protect United Nations personnel and permit them to exercise unimpeded their functions.

It would seem that the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which has done a splendid job to date to resolve this crisis, is resolute in its desire to resolve this conflict and establish a representative elected Government. The deployment of UNOMIL therefore seems to be crucial to the whole process proceeding in high gear. For this reason we applaud the speed with which the mission has been organized and will be put in place. This will, hopefully, demonstrate to the Liberians our commitment to the peace process and to a return to normalcy. We shall then be in a position to encourage the new

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

five-member Council of State to take the steps necessary to complete the disarmament and demobilization process and to organize the important elections commission.

While we focus on the political settlement, we are pleased to note that the plight of Liberia's many refugees and displaced persons is not being overlooked; nor is the need for humanitarian assistance. Attending to these matters will gain a good deal of immediate support from the general populace and ease the transition to the new phase of life in Liberia. The ordinary Liberian has suffered unduly in this conflict and requires our utmost attention.

Deployment of UNOMIL is a key factor in the fair distribution of humanitarian aid. We support the steps the Secretary-General has undertaken to establish a trust fund to cover a range of vital processes and activities and his call for contributions from Member States is consistent with the timetables set to accomplish various tasks.

The United Nations is much wiser now and is aware of the steps which need to be taken to forge the road to peace and settlement. Difficulties and uncertainties are always present, but the United Nations appears to have assessed the Liberian situation with some care, and the chances of resolution, based upon the actions of combatants to date in Liberia and Cotonou, seem quite encouraging.

My delegation therefore supports the draft resolution before us establishing UNOMIL for a period of seven months under the direction of the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/26477, as orally revised in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, has been adopted unanimously as resolution 866 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. HICKS (United States of America): As the Council is aware, the United States has a long historical link with Liberia and has watched developments there closely. We are therefore pleased to be a part of the international community's actions in support of the Agreement reached between the parties at Cotonou to lay their arms aside and move together towards a peaceful resolution of the tragic conflict there that has heaped such suffering upon their nation in recent years.

The resolution just adopted by the Security Council should help to create the climate necessary for successfully building up the trust so vital to successful implementation of the Peace Agreement.

The role of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) will be pivotal. We trust that adequate and appropriate coordination between all levels of command of ECOMOG and the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) will enable both groups to operate in the complementary manner foreseen by the Council and the parties to the Agreement. The precedent set here of side-by-side operations by the United Nations and a regional group may have reverberations in other conflict areas which could perhaps be tackled in a similar manner if the world sees it work well in Liberia.

Let me take this opportunity to reassure the brave troop-contributing nations that are willing to help Liberia out of its crisis that the United States Government is prepared to assist them in their efforts.

Finally, I should like to stress the importance of moving quickly to commence the process of encampment and demobilization, which will enable the Council of State to begin its work.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): It was with great satisfaction that my delegation voted in favour of this resolution. It attests to the resolve of the international community to implement a peace agreement in a strife-torn nation and creates a United Nations force that is called upon, pursuant to Chapter VIII of the Charter, to work in close cooperation with the regional organization.

This is one of the first instances of a joint peace-keeping operation and could serve as a precedent if it succeeds. Accordingly, we shall be particularly attentive to the way it unfolds. The United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) will play fully its role of monitoring and verifying the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement, while the primary responsibility for actually implementing the provisions of the Agreement will fall to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG).

We expect African countries, and members of the Organization of African Unity in particular, to contribute as quickly as possible to the strengthening of ECOMOG. France also calls on the Liberian parties to honour their commitments in good faith, to set aside violence once and for all and, in a genuine spirit of national reconciliation, to prepare themselves for the elections in February and March 1994 that will put this country on the road to peace, stability and democracy.

In order to achieve this objective, France calls on the parties to begin without delay the process of cantonment, disarmament and demobilization. I should like to reiterate the great importance we attach to the provision of aid to civilian populations in need, and I call on all those involved to facilitate the delivery of such aid.

Finally, I express the hope that the implementation of a peace-keeping operation in Rwanda will receive the same degree of attention from the Council.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): The resolution which we have just adopted is a further important step towards implementing the terms of the Agreement reached at the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Summit in Cotonou on 25 July for which both ECOWAS and the United Nations and its Special Representative, whose work we commend, have worked so hard.

The creation of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) under this resolution brings closer the prospect of lasting peace in Liberia and of ending a conflict which has had an appalling cost. Some 150,000 people have lost their lives, hundreds of thousands have been displaced, and the conflict has had a much wider destabilizing effect on the countries of the subregion as a whole, and particularly on Sierra Leone. In this respect, we very much welcome the decision in the resolution that UNOMIL should have a monitoring function on Liberia's borders with its neighbours, and in particular with Sierra Leone.

UNOMIL will be the first example of a United Nations peace-keeping mission undertaken in cooperation with a mission already established by a regional organization. This is testimony to the very effective, imaginative and welcome collaboration that is already under way between the United Nations and ECOWAS.

UNOMIL will work alongside the ECOWAS Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) peace-keeping force. Their roles will be separate but complementary. Close coordination and the fullest cooperation between the two bodies will be vital to the success of the enterprise. We therefore welcome the fact that the resolution spells out in some detail how the mandate of UNOMIL will fit with that of ECOMOG. The intention of the Secretary-General to conclude with ECOWAS a formal agreement defining the respective roles and responsibilities of the two is very necessary. We hope it will be concluded as soon as possible and that this will precede the early deployment of the Observer Mission.

In the view of my Government, it is crucial to the effective functioning of UNOMIL and to the safety of its personnel that the cooperation to which the parties to the Cotonou Agreement committed themselves be continued. The present cease-fire must continue to be adhered to strictly. It is impossible to stress too much the need for all the parties to the conflict to take this opportunity for peace. So many have been lost in the past.

The resolution also welcomes the establishment by the Secretary-General of a Trust Fund to assist the task of reinforcing ECOMOG as well as to meet other

(Sir David Hannay,
United Kingdom)

important objectives. We urge Member States to look positively at the case for supporting a Trust Fund. For our part we are considering how best we might help the cause of peace in Liberia, and in the meantime we will continue to provide humanitarian relief to those suffering. We have committed £8.5 million since 1990.

Finally, the resolution rightly urges that the timetable set out in the Cotonou Agreement, which would point to elections in 1994, should not be allowed to slip. Of course, one must not underestimate the problems of sticking to that timetable, but if all show flexibility, cooperation and good will it can be achieved, and the sooner those elections take place in free and fair conditions the sooner the people of Liberia can begin a new life, and a new life in peace.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): My delegation notes with satisfaction that since the Peace Agreement was signed in Cotonou progress has been made towards the restoration of peace in Liberia. The Council of State representing all three Liberian parties has been formed and a United Nations advance team has been deployed. Now the time is ripe to establish a new peace operation, the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) to facilitate the implementation of the Peace Agreement.

UNOMIL is unique in the sense that it will be the first mission undertaken by the United Nations in cooperation with a peace-keeping force already set up by a regional organization, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). It will be extremely important to ensure close coordination between UNOMIL and the ECOWAS Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) and clearly to define the roles and responsibilities of each body in the implementation of the Peace Agreement.

Japan notes that under the Peace Agreement ECOMOG bears the primary responsibility for ensuring the implementation of the provisions of the Agreement, while it is up to UNOMIL to monitor the procedures in order to verify their impartial application.

I concur with the Secretary-General's view that the successful implementation of the Peace Agreement will be in jeopardy if the additional troops are not deployed or if some of the ECOMOG troops are to be withdrawn

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

prematurely. Thus we welcome ECOMOG's plan to expand its forces by 4,000 and encourage African States to provide additional troops.

I stress that the peace process must be advanced in accordance with the timetable laid out in the Peace Agreement - that is, elections must be held in February or March 1994. Since the process is already behind schedule, we urge all parties in Liberia to demonstrate their strong political will to implement the Agreement without delay. It is important that ECOMOG move quickly to begin the disarmament process even before the expanded ECOMOG and UNOMIL forces are fully deployed.

Finally, I believe it should be reiterated that the sustainability of UNOMIL, and in fact of all future peace-keeping operations, depends on the safety of United Nations personnel involved. Japan welcomes ECOMOG's commitment to ensure the safety of UNOMIL observers, and urges all parties to take every necessary measure to enhance the security and safety of UNOMIL personnel and those involved in humanitarian activities.

Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): It is an important resolution that the Council has just adopted. The Cotonou Peace Agreement, signed in July by the Liberian parties, brought new and well-founded hopes for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Liberia, a crisis which has taken a very heavy toll and brought great suffering to the people of that African country of the South Atlantic region.

There is an opportunity for peace in Liberia, and it must not be lost. With the decisions taken today by the Security Council in adopting resolution 866 (1993) the United Nations is showing that it is fully aware of the need to ensure the successful outcome of that process and is prepared to add its own important contribution to the efforts already being made by the African countries that are neighbours of Liberia.

We support the recommendations made by the Secretary-General for the establishment of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), as set out in resolution 866 (1993).

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

By assisting in the monitoring of compliance with the Cotonou Agreement, UNOMIL will constitute a decisive complement to the activities to be carried out by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Military Observer Group (ECOMOG). The distinct mandates of the two operations are clearly designed to promote the same goal: the restoration of peace, security and stability in Liberia.

This is a case in which new modalities are being designed for close cooperation in the field between the United Nations and the regional organization. We are convinced that such cooperation, with clearly defined roles for each organization, each in accordance with its own rules and procedures, is a very encouraging development.

The significance of the tasks entrusted to UNOMIL stands out quite clearly. The monitoring of the cease-fire and other aspects of the Peace Agreement, particularly the arms embargo and the assembly, disarmament and demobilization of troops, as well as the observation of the election process, and other activities, will no doubt constitute an invaluable contribution to the efforts of the Liberian people to achieve national reconciliation and to establish a new basis on which to restart their national development.

Brazil attaches great importance to respect for the norms of international humanitarian law. We were appalled by the reports of serious violations of those norms in the conflict in Liberia, and we understand that respect for humanitarian imperatives will be a cornerstone of the peace process. That must of necessity include - and we wish to emphasize this point - strict respect for the safety of all United Nations personnel and relief workers in Liberia.

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

I wish to express our recognition of, and support for, the work carried out by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for Liberia, Mr. Trevor Gordon-Somers. Their efforts, together with the close monitoring of the situation by the Security Council, will continue to play a crucial role in ensuring success in the peace process, with a view to the holding of democratic elections in March 1994. It is our hope that these elections will open the way for a new era of peace and development for the Liberian people.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The Peace Agreement signed at Cotonou has brought new hope of ending the civil war and restoring peace and security in Liberia as well as the subregion of West Africa. This is the result of concerted efforts by the various Liberian parties, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations. For this, we wish to express our welcome and appreciation.

We are pleased to note that the various Liberian parties have started to implement the Peace Agreement signed at Cotonou; that the Liberian National Transitional Government and the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee, composed of representatives of the three Liberian parties, the ECOWAS Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) and the United Nations, have both been established; and that some members of the advance team of United Nations military observers to Liberia have arrived in Monrovia. This undoubtedly will advance the peace process in Liberia.

We hope that the conflicting parties in Liberia will fully cooperate with ECOWAS, adopt practical and effective measures and earnestly implement the Peace Agreement and the relevant Security Council resolutions so as to contribute to an early realization of national reconciliation and national peace. Therefore, the Chinese delegation supports the recommendations of the Secretary-General for the deployment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and voted in favour of the resolution that has just been adopted.

Mr. McKINNON (New Zealand): This resolution sets an important precedent for United Nations cooperation with regional organizations. We pay tribute to the work of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and to the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The regional countries have played an important and responsible role in the peace process. We look forward to the participation of other African States, in partnership with the United Nations and with ECOWAS, in bringing a lasting peace to Liberia.

New Zealand is very pleased that the resolution spells out clearly and precisely the role the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) is to perform. In particular, my delegation welcomes the fact that the mandate and the command and control issues are clearly set out.

My delegation is also very pleased that the issue of safety of United Nations personnel features prominently in the resolution.

We warmly welcome the decision by the Liberian parties to establish an interim government. We urge the establishment as soon as possible of mechanisms to enable political reconciliation and the conduct of early elections.

We emphasize the importance of the provisions in the Cotonou Agreement relating to disarmament and demobilization. Recent history in other places has shown us the disastrous consequences that can follow if disarmament and demobilization obligations are not carried out. The Security Council will be following this aspect with close attention.

We are also very conscious of the burdens that the war in Liberia has created for Liberia's neighbours. We are pleased that the resolution takes account of this aspect.

Finally, my delegation warmly welcomes the resumed delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There are no further speakers on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.